The
COMMONWEAL

VOLUME XLI January 12, 1945 NUMBER 13

THE WEEK 315
EVOLUTION OR REVOLUTION *Alfredo Mendizabal* 318
"LA GRANDE ARGENTINA" *George Doherty* 322
AMERICA'S PEACE POTENTIAL *Michael Williams* 325
COMMUNICATIONS 327
DOWN TO THE SEA *Harry Lorin Binsse* 328
THE STAGE *Kappo Phelan* 331
THE SCREEN *Philip T. Hartung* 331
THE INNER FORUM *Leo J. Trese* 333

THE COMMONWEAL is *indexed in the Reader's Guide, Catholic Periodical Index and Catholic Bookman.*

Published weekly and copyrighted 1944 in the U.S.A. by THE COMMONWEAL Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y. AShland 4-9685. Entered as second class matter February 9, 1934 at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. U.S. $5 a year. Canada and Foreign $6. Single copies 10c.

Editors: EDWARD SKILLIN, JR.
PHILIP BURNHAM (*now on duty with the armed forces*)

HARRY LORIN BINSSE, *Managing Editor*; MICHAEL WILLIAMS, *Special Editor*; C. G. PAULDING, *Literary Editor*; JOHN C. CORT, *Associate Editor*; JOHN BRUBAKER, *Advertising Manager*.

Gentlemen of the Senate:

FROM THE OUTSET, as soon as we saw the published text of what had been worked out at Dumbarton Oaks, we expressed in these columns a certain dissatisfaction. It seemed to us that what had been achieved was a makeshift, and that at best it could only be viewed as a possible precursor to a more perfect scheme; at worst, merely better than nothing. At the time, the climate of opinion seemed favorable to this plan and to little more than this plan. So we accepted it for lack of anything more nearly just and in the long run more practical.

The climate of opinion has now changed. We sense—admittedly without evidence—that Russia is none too keen about Dumbarton Oaks. It is perfectly clear that the British, in an access of realism, have come to the conclusion that they cannot rely upon even that much from us, and therefore must fend for themselves. The French seem to have come to the same conclusion. The smaller nations of the world naturally and quite properly never liked the scheme in the first place. And now there is reason to believe that the Senate has turned a little sour on that World Security Organization which was endorsed by everyone except a few isolationists in the last campaign, and which seemed then fairly certain of Senatorial approval. This being the situation, we propose what at first blush might look wild, but what we feel sure would have a most salutary effect.

Why not get down to bedrock? Suppose the Senate, working with whatever experts it might need — even the State Department *might* be willing to help—were to formulate a really decent, moral and strong security organization for this troubled world. The task should not be too difficult, since the terms would be framed in accordance with principle rather than after the give-and-take of negotiation. And heaven knows there is plenty of literature on the subject; there are plenty of blueprints (and pretty good blueprints) at hand. Suppose, then, that the Senate, with or without the State Department, were to formulate such an organization and then commit itself, as much as the Senate can, by passing the formula it achieves in the form of a resolution, and by at least a two-thirds vote. The air would immediately be cleared. The Senate would have put itself on record as indicating the kind of world organization a handsome majority of its members really believe in. The other great powers would find themselves in the embarrassing position either of having to accept a genuine plan for the world's collective security, or of having to invent excuses for not coming to the wedding feast, or of openly stating that they preferred to rely on power politics. The hand of our diplomats would be immeasurably strengthened. And the smaller nations of this earth would see a star.

This notion may seem utterly fantastic. But the air today is so turgid that only bold and explosive measures can clear it. Gentlemen of the Senate, why not be as bold in a group as you revel in being singly?

Alternatives to "Power Politics"

THE United States is more obtuse even than most others in understanding what her fellow-nations consider vital to them. Not only our traditional isolationism but also the fact that we have no fears comparable to those of Britain, France and Russia, for example, make us particularly insensitive to what these allies are after. We cannot understand how the Russian colossus should be so obsessed by the fears for its own security as to insist on taking over the Baltic countries, a large slice of Poland and other expanses of land along her frontiers. We do not see either why Russia attaches so much importance to the establishment of friendly governments in the smaller neighboring countries for miles around. Some of us suffer acute shock when *Pravda* attacks Pope Pius XII for counseling such Christian values as mercy, justice and forgiveness toward the vanquished. Soviet Russia puzzles us about many things.

Yet we do not seem to be doing a noticeably better job in understanding our British allies, who might be presumed to view things from

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

rather similar basic principles. We do not realize how desperate is Great Britain's economic plight: the result of the liquidation of so large a part of her capital assets and her merchant marine, the two elements which hitherto have kept her international trade relations in feasible balance. We do not realize to what extent the phrase, "export or die," is literally true for the British nation. Politically the situation is not much better. For although we continue to recognize, with the British, the Polish Government in London—and said so when the Lublin Government announced it was taking over—in Greece we have stood aside. So determined is the United States not to interfere with the internal régimes of the territories we are liberating that the impression grows that when the war is over we shall again dodge our responsibility for the maintenance of peace. With her interests threatened by Russia and unsupported by us, there is little wonder that Britain resorts to stern measures on her own account.

Even the most determined American "realists" must admit that failure to grasp what either Britain or Russia is driving at gravely hampers the conduct of our own foreign policy. It would seem to be elementary that at the present juncture the first thing needed is to come to a real understanding with Great Britain. And to do this we must be able to demonstrate that much of what we want is in her interest, too. That is even more intensely the case with Russia, who for the moment is seemingly impervious to certain Anglo-American ethical ideals. A common front with Britain and a purely self-interest approach to Russia are important but only temporary expedients. The basic task is to build up mutual confidence. Russian leadership will change and Churchill himself will give way to more conciliatory British statesmen. Meanwhile the three nations must work together as harmoniously as possible, drawing in the other nations to share in our responsibilities. The present disaffection among the Allies is the gravest threat to the United Nations since our entry into this all-out war.

The Joke about Charity

IT IS not very easy to be funny about a text which deals with the suffering which is all over the world now, and it becomes peculiarly difficult to be funny about a passage in the text which thanks those governments and peoples who have tried in some way to alleviate that suffering. It is not surprising, consequently, that the *New Republic's* "Bandwagon" column for January 1 is not very funny when it takes from Pope Pius's long Christmas message a truncated passage out of context and asks the reader to sneer at the Pope for saying that the head of the State, the Government and the people of Spain and the Governments of Ireland, the Argentine are vying with each other in a noble rivalry of brotherly love and charity. The reader will ask how and where are they so charitable? The reader will think that the Pope is quaint. The reader will read six lines from the Pope's message, then three lines from the message of Mrs. Bessie Lee Cowie of the WCTU, and then four lines from Hedda Hopper—for that is "The Bandwagon" for the week.

It is not very funny, and that does not matter; no one can be funny all the time. But it is a low trick and it is improper journalism. That is more serious. Especially in this case. Especially because of the serious thing the Pope is talking about, especially because of the serious suffering that the Pope is talking about. It is improper to use this suffering for a joke, for a political joke; it is improper to joke about the Pope's efforts to alleviate the suffering through all the relief agencies that he has set to work; it is improper to joke about the people (even if one of them is Franco) or about the peoples (even if among them are the neutral Irish, the "fascist" Argentinians) who have helped the Pope support the agencies. It is improper, but above all it is absurd because in the truncated passage quoted in the *New Republic* the three dots placed in the passage conceal the omission of thirteen other nations which have helped, and which are thanked by the Pope; and it becomes even more absurd because the paragraph preceding the quote, a paragraph naturally omitted because it cannot be made fun of, starts out with these words: "And in the first place it is but just to record the immense work of assistance achieved, in spite of the extraordinary difficulties of transport, by the United States of America." You cannot joke about anyone who is not turning away from the spectacle of the world's misery, and even less about anyone who refuses to consider it only a spectacle, who refuses to be satisfied with looking at the spectacle of hunger but who feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, provides a home for the homeless.

The Pope thanked the nations, the peoples, the heads of governments for their charity—in some cases, surely, for their charity to American soldiers prisoners of the enemy—he thanked them for this specific charity; he made clear what he was thanking them for. For this charity these nations, all of them, deserved his thanks; all of them deserve our own; all of them, without exception: the fascist, the neutral, the destroyed, even Poland—a nation which was in that list which the *New Republic* considered too boring to publish in full.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"The Present Discontents"

ON DECEMBER 26 New York State's Liberal Party addressed a long open letter to President Roosevelt concerning recent developments in the field of international politics. Mostly the Party expressed its deep concern over the emergence of disunity in the United Nations, as specifically embodied in the "sphere of influence" activities of England and Russia. It condemned the sphere of influence policy, and it called upon the President to re-enunciate the principles of the Atlantic Charter as an essentially necessary counter-weight. Toward the end of its open letter the Liberal Party says: "The tendency of the American Government to postpone and evade the solution of major political problems as they arose has not averted and has in a measure contributed to the present international crisis."

That, as was said on this page last week, is the real crux of the matter. We postpone and we evade. In other words, we consistently refuse to take responsibility. Hence the other nations of the world discount entirely the effectiveness of our action to preserve the peace and to give them security. Spheres of influence, bilateral treaties, power politics are the stopgaps to which they must inevitably turn in the absence of assumption of responsibility by the United States.

Why do we not assume responsibility? Because those officials of the American Government who, in any other government, are in a position to stick their necks out, to assume responsibility, dare not do it for us. They have constantly before their eyes the specter of what happened to President Wilson.

It has been suggested that the great trouble lies in the two-thirds rule in the Senate. It has likewise been suggested that a proper reform would be to require a mere majority vote of *both* houses for the ratification of treaties, on the ground that the House is more closely in touch with popular feeling and therefore will be more sensitive as a barometer of what the people want. Both of these solutions are surface solutions, since they do not get at the heart of the problem, which is the lack of inter-responsibility between the persons who negotiate with other countries and the legislators called upon to approve or reject the results of negotiations. The abolition of the two-thirds rule would probably help put some backbone into our State Department (and, of course, into our President); but there still would remain the possibility of political advantage for Senators to repudiate, in some grand bombastic gesture of "Americanism," the work of the State Department, for which the Senate is in no way responsible. The same thing would apply in case ratification by the House were also required.

The only fundamental solution seems to me to lie in a constitutional formula under which the Secretary of State would be directly responsible to whatever legislative body (or bodies) is charged with ratifying treaties, in much the same way as British ministers are responsible to Parliament. There is no valid reason for extending this system beyond the State Department, since the other departments are principally concerned with carrying out the mandates of Congress, secondarily with the elaboration of national policy. And the naming of the Secretary of State, subject to the approval and consent at least of the Senate, should remain with the President, precisely as the naming of a prime minister remains with the King.

In practice such a change would mean that the Secretary of State, in addition to being a member of the Cabinet, would likewise be an officer of the Senate. At any stage in negotiations with foreign countries, he, or one of his deputies, could be called before the Senate—if necessary in executive session—to answer questions. No longer would it be possible for the Senate to wash its hands of responsibility for the general lines of our foreign policy, because an officer of that body, responsible to it and dismissible by it, and therefore for whose action it itself is automatically responsible, would have conducted that policy, and in a spirit of continuous *official* consultations.

With such a relationship existing between the formulators and the approvers of our relations to other countries, it might soon be possible to achieve a secondary but highly desirable further step—the authorization of the State Department to make agreements with foreign countries not subject to further ratification, unless such agreements include military commitments or the expenditure of new public monies. Of course I do not for an instant suggest that the State Department should be allowed to contract such agreements without making them public. But with the present constitutional machinery, all our action is hamstrung and piddling because the most routine arrangement must be approved by two-thirds of the Senators "present" before it is binding—unless we and the other contracting parties are willing to remain content with a strictly temporary "understanding."

The scheme here roughly outlined may demand all sorts of modification. In the short compass of a magazine page one cannot definitely formulate what would be a major constitutional change. But events have demonstrated to the hilt that the United States is suffering a major paralysis in its ability to deal with the rest of the world. Both for our own good and for the good of the world we must make it possible for us to act as the powerful nation we are.

HARRY LORIN BINSSE.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Evolution and Revolution

The question raised by the present situation in Spain

Alfredo Mendizábal

NO ONE doubts any longer that the Franco régime is breathing its last. Although the government machinery, and especially the police system, of the Falangist dictatorship still keeps up external appearances, that is not enough to hide or disguise the vacuum in which it moves—a vacuum which is the precursor of an impending crack-up which will shatter the régime into fragments. Cut off from the general system of European fascism which is in its death agony, it is completely lacking in vital impulses of its own. After having ruined Spain—and precisely because they did so—Franco and his followers are bringing themselves to ruin. If now and then are heard the hollow and sonorous voices of those who desperately defend their positions of advantage, their word is simply "*flatus vocis.*" People hear but do not listen; and only the distant echo, which certain philo-fascist circles—more die-hard than they are genuinely enthusiastic—produce in other countries, is capable of assuring those disingenuous ones that the monstrous régime still survives. For that régime was destined for disaster from its very beginning because of its own inherent faults.

Recently when the star of Falangism was being finally eclipsed in South America, where the nations are so susceptible to example—good or bad—coming from Spain, some moral assistance "*in extremis*" made its appearance in the heart of New York. This heightened the confusion in some Catholic circles which, because of certain automatisms not precisely Christian but specifically reactionary, have tended too often to compromise the cause of religion by subordinating it to that of the anti-democratic forces. Since the source of this aid was a distinguished intellectual who in other matters has a deserved reputation, it is worth discussing for a moment. Dr. William Thomas Walsh, a well known Hispanic scholar, returned from a trip to Spain weighed down by decorations from the government of Franco and having been awarded by him the Cross of a Knight Commander of the Order of Alfonso X. Aside from his literary virtues Dr. Walsh had for the Falangists the great merit of having always shown himself bitterly partisan to the oppressive system established in Spain by Franco. If that had not been so, he would have received contempt and insults instead of honors. But gratitude has beclouded the eyes and distorted the judgment of the new Knight Commander and at a solemn ceremony in his honor at Manhattanville College the commendations he received (reported by the *Catholic News* of November 4) surpassed the praise generally accorded the proud partisans of fascism. The fact that the régime for which he felt such admiration was a dictatorship did not trouble him in the least: "Well, yes, I suppose it is. But in this country we are not opposed to dictatorships as such. . . . True we don't want a dictator for ourselves. But we have no real objection to dictatorships for other peoples." Naturally that is a personal opinion of Dr. Walsh, but the generalization which its author makes of it appears to be incompatible with the point of view officially taken by the United States in this war and even less compatible with the Christian principle of not wishing for others things one does not relish for oneself. That is much too easy a fashion of closing one's ears to the heavy clamor of a people in chains—too easy a way of getting round the incongruity of marching along singing the praises of tyranny and displaying the decorations conferred by that tyranny in a country which enjoys the blessings of liberty.

That the Franco régime is fascist is for Dr. Walsh a more serious accusation: "I would not accept a decoration from any fascist government." But to quiet his conscience it is sufficient to deny that the government in question is fascist. The essence of fascism "is the glorification of the state . . . the theory that men exist for the sake of the state and not vice versa," the Knight Commander admits; and he adds naïvely: "I do not for a moment believe that Spain has such a government." It is not a question of believing or disbelieving but of seeing or failing to see. From its foundation the system of the Falange (a one-party system providing an organic basis for the state, with its grand council organized on the Italian fascist model) showed itself to be not only fascist but totalitarian, and no rights remain for the individual citizen to protect him from the violence of his régime. "The Spanish people alone have a right to decide what form of government they shall have," adds Dr. Walsh in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his engaging candor. And that is precisely what Franco took upon himself to prevent by force in the course of the various steps of the armed uprising, of the Civil War and of a totalitarian fascism imposed and maintained against the will of the great majority of the Spanish people (otherwise it would have been much less costly to resort to the democratic electoral process). Without the aid of Italy and Germany, which was so vital to him, Franco could not have been victorious in the Civil War; without the protection and control of nazism and the adoption of its methods of oppression, Spain would not have been materially enslaved. Because that is the case the régime is tottering and symptoms of its approaching downfall made their appearance as soon as the frontier of the Pyrenees was cleared of German soldiers.

★

What are the possibilities that lie open to Spain in the present situation of the world? Her destiny is bound to that of Europe. Upon the ability of the nations which profess the principles of liberty to restore the democratic system—purified of the errors and deviations which made it so vulnerable in the past—will depend in large measure the salvation of the ancient continent which only then will be capable of manifesting its motivating will to live freed from fascist and demagogic tyranny. Only by avoiding the stupid dilemma between the extreme political formulas which mutually beget and strengthen each other will a fully human civilization have a chance to be reborn and affirm itself. The tremendous responsibility of America and Great Britain as champions of liberty is embodied in the maintenance of the principles of the Atlantic Charter. The great hope which its proclamation aroused throughout Europe has already given way too often to disillusionment, and the evil system of "spheres of influence" is today beginning to reconvert Europe into a monstrous feudal system of vassal states subjected to political and economic "allegiance" by various rival empires. If liberation were not complete—after totalitarian oppression—and if it should not embrace all peoples, the peace would be irreparably lost.

Spain occupies a peculiar position because of her apparent official neutrality. But in the same way that all Spaniards, from one camp or the other, realize that willingly or unwillingly they were the first participants and victims in a world war whose first battles took place at their own expense and on their own soil, they are convinced today that the outcome of the present struggle will determine their future as a free or as an enslaved people. Franco himself, who had linked the fate of his régime with the success of the Axis in the war, and whose diatribes against the democracies always accompanied the assistance he lent to Mussolini and Hitler, saw upon the fall of Italy and the impending downfall of Hitler—especially from the moment when the German troops fled from France—that he could not maintain himself in power without the benevolent acquiescence of the United Nations. And the climax in the changing course of his political tactics is embodied in certain declarations made to a United Press correspondent (New York *Times,* Nov. 4) claiming that "Spain had never been fascist or nazi and never had been allied secretly or otherwise with the Axis powers" and asserting himself to be disposed "to collaboration with the principal Allied Powers, including Russia." That is a turn which reaches the very heights of cynicism. But this apparent about-face has not succeeded in deceiving anyone except those who wish to deceive themselves; it has no other object but the attempt to free oneself from the general shipwreck of the fascist dictatorships. And militating against the success of this inept maneuver is the fact that the interest of Spain and likewise that of the other nations require that no remnants of fascism remain in any corner of Europe.

With the liberation of France panic took hold of the small group of Spaniards who were imposing their minority will on all the others. And a hope that knew no bounds spread through the elements of the opposition within Spain (whose effective power to act will not manifest itself until the decisive moment comes) and among thousands of exiles in France who had fought in the ranks of the French resistance movement —said to be some 40,000. The romantic impulse of some of these last in attacking certain isolated frontier places and even occupying them for a short time could not have resulted in important practical consequences, but there is no question that it had a certain symbolic influence. It is quite understandable that thousands of men who, defeated in their own land, took refuge on French soil and underwent there the material and moral suffering of the concentration camps, besides having cooperated effectively in the fight against the Germans in France, should believe that it was relatively feasible to make an end of fascism in Spain as well. But with only hand arms it was impossible for them to oppose successfully the army of Franco equipped as it was with artillery, tanks and planes. Franco could view their vain attempt disdainfully but he had to recognize that the liberation of Spain was already in the planning stage; he immediately strengthened his police forces in order to prevent the echo of the Pyrenees attacks from spreading into the interior of the country and inciting an insurrection.

A profound crisis today shakes Spanish society to its foundations. The desire to put an end to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a system which deservedly has won the most absolute unpopularity in the country is so general that sheer material force will be worth little in keeping the Falange in power. For a long time that party was able to enjoy the illusion that it had immobilized and suppressed its militant adversaries through executions, concentration camps, prisons or forced exile. From amongst its own collaborators new enemies soon came forward, and persecution was wreaked upon those who were simply dissidents or nonconformists. Now in the face of the impending crack-up the differences among the Falangists themselves have to do principally with the means of avoiding their own ruination. They are not worried about saving Spain or more accurately they will not admit that Spain will be saved *from* them because they themselves hope to escape from Spain and from the responsibility which they have contracted.

But some of them try only to prolong the present state of things by cloaking the régime under less intolerant appearances so that they may continue in the exercise of power, or by seeking a transformation toward monarchical forms of an authoritarian type so that the dictatorship might maintain itself a while longer. For others within the Falangist system who are inspired by a sort of dialectic of catastrophe, there is no way out but communism if the Falange disappears. At the very time they seek to terrify the timorous with the prospect of social revolution, the Falangists themselves are prepared to change over into communists if it should be necessary to save their skins. Just as in the preliminaries of the Civil War no inconsiderable numbers of communist and anarchist adherents swelled the ranks of the Falange, especially among student youth, so the extremists of the Right are now prepared to pass over to extremism of the Left. Nothing has greater resemblance than the ideology of the former to that of the latter. Essentially their proclaimed hostility frequently resolves into a common essence and their common revulsion for methods of human freedom binds them together inextricably.

★

The views of the active opposition groups differ basically according to the motivation and objectives of the struggle. Within Spain the resistance is more scattered than well organized. Doubtless sabotage is frequent and from the day of Franco's precarious victory, guerrillas have not ceased to operate in the mining and mountain districts. The groups of organized exiles follow varying obediences or rather varying differences even though all are hostile to Franco and the Falange. As usual Spaniards know much more clearly what they don't want than what they do. But no one can deny that virtually nationwide unanimity against the present régime has been aroused within Spain. The largest refugee contingents are in France and Mexico (more than 100,000 in France and some 26,000 in Mexico, where the greater part of the republican and socialist political leaders are found). Therefore it is natural that rallying points for these forces have been set up in those two countries, first in Mexico because there the exiles have always enjoyed liberty, while the bulk of them in France led a wretched and precarious sort of existence. In a previous article the position of the "Junta Española de Liberación" established more than a year ago in Mexico City was analyzed together with those of the so-called "Junta Suprema de Union Nacional" that is supposed to exist in Madrid (cf. THE COMMONWEAL, July 28, 1944) and also the peculiar views of Dr. Negrín from London which are followed by a small group claiming that the last cabinet of the Republic is the authentic representative of the republican régime.

Respective positions have not changed, but since then the Junta in Mexico has intensified and focused its activity; led by Martinez Barrio and by Prieto it has finally taken a decisive step in the direction of organization. Freed from the difficulties which formerly had been raised by United States foreign policy, it has now prepared in Mexico a meeting of the Spanish Republican Parliament called for the 10th of January by its President, Martinez Barrio. At first Negrín seemed willing to appear before the "Cortes" as head of the last government and to submit to its decisions. But later he manifested his opposition to the parliamentary meeting and even denied that it would be legal if its former ministers refrained from attending—a factor which naturally depended upon his own will.

It is clear that the question of the strict constitutionality of such a meeting cannot be guaranteed, since neither the Spanish constitution, nor any other, foresees a situation where a Parliament or a Government function outside the national domain. And the deputies who planned to meet in Mexico have no intention of passing laws from there but rather of making political decisions for which a quorum is not required. Despite the abnormal circumstances attending this meeting there can be no doubt that the deputies now in exile represent the republican political parties and the Socialist Party—which in the last election held in Spain in 1936 won the majority of seats in the Chamber for the Popular Front. And since the Spanish political system is of the parliamentary type, the Cortes is superior to the Government, which emanates from it and submits to its control. The application by analogy of article 59 of the Constitution ("A Cortes which has been dissolved meets in full legality and recovers its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

power as the legitimate power of the State from the moment that the President fails to fulfill according to law his obligation to call the new elections") can sustain its legitimacy if not the strict legality of the scheduled convocation. The agenda for the session includes: provision for a successor to Senor Azaña (who died in France) as President of the Republic, the designation of a Premier by whom the President would be named (constitutionally the Presidency falls immediately and provisionally to the President of the Cortes and Martinez Barrio submits himself for re-election or expulsion from his post by the Cortes) and the consequent formation in exile of a provisional government of the Republic for the moment of its restoration. It has already been announced that in all probability such a government would be recognized by Mexico, Cuba, Uruguay, Ecuador and other South American republics, and that then the Cabinet would move to France if the de Gaulle government accords it the necessary facilities for carrying this out. This is not impossible in view of the interest of a liberated France in the restoration of democracy in Spain.

The creation of a government in exile emanating from a parliament would make no longer necessary the continuation of the various Juntas of minority representation. And the Junta of Liberación proposes to be the first to declare its own dissolution and its loyalty to the Cabinet which is to be formed. There now remain outside of this vast project the groups represented by Dr. Negrín, the Communist Party, and perhaps the Basque Nationalist Party. As for the "Junta Suprema de Union Nacional," that creature of fantasy launched by the communists, its existence in Spain has been denied by Negrín himself, by the Basques and by other republican groups which the propagandists for such a Junta had named as among its adherents. But it did not have to prove that it actually existed in Spain in order to come to life through "delegations" such as the "Union Nacional Española" created in Toulouse by a nucleus of virtually unknown exiles of little political significance who, upon the news of military activity on the part of Spanish refugees enrolled in the French maquis, sought to divert the stream to their own mill, a clever trick sponsored by the Spanish Communist Party.

★

Recently a new incident has aroused the deepest feelings and no light commotion in Spain herself. It was the step officially taken in France by Don Miguel Maura, who was Minister of the Interior of the first republican government in 1936. Maura secured from all the republican parties —except from the communists—and the Socialist Party, a mandate to speak for them and authorization to send, as he did, General Franco himself, a message which he delivered in Paris to the Spanish Ambassador to Rome, Señor Sangróniz, who in turn transmitted it immediately to Madrid. Maura requested Franco and the Falange to abdicate and to give way to a national coalition cabinet, whose mission would be to prepare a transition without violence to democratic institutions. If there is a Spanish political figure who today combines all the personal qualifications required to attempt such a transformation that person is Don Miguel Maura. Of Rightist antecedents (son of the great conservative statesman, Don Antonio Maura, who was on several occasions Prime Minister under the monarchy) Maura unites an uncommonly broad experience in political life, high integrity and firmness of character with a belief in republican institutions which no one can controvert. No responsibility attaches to him for what occurred in Spain during the Civil War since his group, the Conservative Republican Party, was outside the Popular Front. Catholic and Republican, Maura is above all a liberal who works as much as he can to endow the republic with institutional forms of a democratic juridical character and to remove from its path the two dangers which constantly threaten: demagogic revolutionary violence and reactionary violence. Well viewed by all the republican parties, enjoying good relations with the Socialists, accepted by all liberal elements, Maura would oppose the professional communist and anarchist revolutionaries as well as the extremists of the Right who support fascism.

The message of Maura evidently gave little pleasure to Franco and to the die-hard Falangists of the dictatorship. Perhaps the moment had not yet arrived for it to have its most decisive effect. But its international repercussions prevented that démarche from being met with silence, and its discussion in the Council of Ministers produced a severe internal crisis. All Spain was informed by radio of the demand delivered to Franco inviting him to imitate the course of Alfonso XIII in 1931, who on recognizing that he had virtually lost his support, abdicated in order to avoid the outbreak of civil war. Franco is where he is precisely because of the late Civil War and the support he had from abroad. It does not seem likely that he will now feel what he has not felt for the past eight and a half years, the patriotic scruples which inspired Alfonso XIII to have recourse to fair play as the final act of his reign. But it is not impossible that a short time hence, when Germany falls flat, a prudent decision which now might even be traced to a spark of patriotism will inspire in him *in extremis* the desire to escape the terrible responsibilities which he has incurred. Perhaps then the leaders of Spanish fascism will weigh sail for such a

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

country, say, as Ireland, whose climatic conditions contrast sharply with those of the Iberian Peninsula, but whose political atmosphere might be propitious for Falangist fugitives. If that step is delayed neither Franco nor his followers can save their own lives, and what is much more serious, Spain will not be able to avoid a frightful revolution which in the end will destroy her.

The dilemma which is presented for Spain—and not for Spain alone—is that of Evolution or Revolution. Either a practicable way will be found to maintain democratic institutions which guarantee the liberty of all within a juridical order or the anarchist revolution will break out with greater violence than ever. The Junta of Liberación has expressed through its president, Martinez Barrio, on his recent trip to Washington and New York, its confidence in the solution proposed by Maura as the only one able to prevent a new outbreak of civil war. But that is not all. Since last August there has spread in Spain the ideal of a cabinet headed by Maura in which would be represented the various republican parties, the Socialist Party, the liberals who between 1936 and 1939 sought reconciliation in Spain by means of international mediation, the democratic sector of Catholic social groups. The only ones remaining outside would be the Communists, the anarchists, the Falangists and the monarchists.

If Spain is to recover and give birth again to a social and political life characterized by dignity, freedom and justice, that is the path to follow.

"La Grande Argentina"

Currents and cross-currents in a puzzling country

George Doherty

THIS rallying cry, credited to the Argentine poet, Leopoldo Lugones, who was once freethinker and liberal, later Catholic and nationalist, affirms that Argentina has a great destiny in the family of nations. What is this destiny? Is the nationalist movement, led mainly by Catholics, an ideological movement likely to realize it in collaboration with the Argentine Army, as in the present government or some succeeding government?

Contrary to some American reports, the present government is not Colonel Peron's closely-knit dictatorship, nor was General Ramirez a dictator before his fall. The frequent changes in that government reflect the pushing and hauling of various factions in the ruling military clique. Some of these factions are made up of doctrinaire nationalists; other men, such as Peron himself are nothing more than opportunists. Up to this time the doctrinaire nationalists have had much the greater influence in the revolutionary government. These ideologues are inspired by and collaborate with civilian nationalist intellectuals, for the most part Catholics, who in the course of a fifteen-year period of intense writing and publishing activity have developed a complete political theory, patterned after Action Française, and linked by them with Catholicism. In an article in the January *Harper's* I have tried to summarize this theory and show its incompatibility with Christian social principles.

The dominant nationalist clique did not owe its accession to power to economic interest groups in Argentina—for example, to the large landowners or to the industrialists. But then in the country's lush war-time boom such groups have so far had no bone to pick with the government. Opportunists among the military leaders have for this reason lacked the kind of opportunity which real dissatisfaction on the part of economically powerful groups would have created; that is the nationalists have been able to experiment in the implementation of their theory up to the point of serious interference with the interests of these groups.

As an affirmation of Argentina's national destiny, the nationalist catch phrase, "La Grande Argentina," is no mere braggadocio. It is an ideal which can become real and substantial. Argentina is unlike most other Latin American countries, the economic and political development of which faces great, though not insuperable, obstacles. Obstacles which have impressed many North American writers far less than has the staggering quantity and potential of the undeveloped resources.

Actually the development of most of the other Latin American countries will require tremendous and continuing outside stimulation. Enormous cost disadvantages will attend their industrialization in its early stages, the result of poor climate, inadequate interior transportation and power facilities, a general lack of technicians, and labor which is in varying degrees untrained, illiterate,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

disease-ridden. Of course the mixed white, Indian and Negro populations of most of the other countries are not innately inferior to the white population of Argentina or any other country. But in their present condition, those populations need a tremendous amount of help from "white" countries, help which certainly should be given but the results of which may be relatively slow in appearing. Factors such as these greatly impede the development of Brazil, to take the outstanding example.

Argentina, on the other hand, can develop its resources much more rapidly. As everyone knows, it has unexcelled agricultural resources. The Argentine economy is not mature or stagnant. Its population is well adapted to skilled industrial employment, and it has already advanced a long way on the road to industrialization. In fact, the value of manufacturing production in 1943, after deducting the value of raw materials, fuel, and power used, exceeded that of agricultural production. This reflected a rise of more than 100 percent in the net or added value of manufacturing production from 1935 to 1943, and an estimated rise of 55 percent in physical value from 1935 to 1942. Among the most important Argentine industries, in terms of value of production and number of employees, are food processing, textiles, machinery and vehicle manufacturing, metal products, chemicals, dyes, vegetable oils, paints, petroleum and printing and publishing. But the present population of 14 millions imposes rather narrow limits on industrial growth, and these limits are already being approached. They can be broadened only if the country's present population of 14 millions is allowed to increase through immigration.

★

Argentine nationalism is, on theoretical grounds, opposed to any substantial immigration and committed to restricting that little to Spaniards and Italians. Yet immigration would increase the total and per capita wealth of the country rather than reduce it. Immigrants from other countries than Spain and Italy, from, say Belgium, the Netherlands, Poland or Czechoslovakia, would make an economic and cultural contribution of great value. But the nationalists have a racial theory: they consider Spaniards and Italians acceptable only in small numbers, and other peoples not at all. The contrary theory of a melting or merging of races in the New World, the formation of a new race, has been proved false, says the nationalist rector of one of Argentina's six universities, having actually produced an inferior type of humanity in countries which, like the United States, have experimented with it.

It is doubtless for this reason that, instead of concentrating on the internal development of their country, these nationalists look to its external expansion. The doctrinaire nationalists want the old vice-royalty of the Rio de la Plata restored as a geographic and political entity through the incorporation of Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia into Argentina. The armament program of the present Government, perhaps its most important single program, has for one object the eventual support of irredentist groups in the three neighboring countries, although only in Uruguay is such a group known to exist now. The nationalists also want an Argentine sphere of influence, if possible coextensive with Latin America. Foreign policy is the core of national policy, say the nationalists; and a nation's foreign policy is a "projectile launched to the exterior."

In 1940-42, the nationalists were convinced that an Axis victory, which they believed inevitable, would make it easy for Argentina to dominate Latin America. Implacably opposed to the Pan-American system as the product of an Anglo-Saxon, Protestant and liberal-democratic culture, they looked for a world order based on the idea of the *Sacrum Imperium,* consisting of perhaps three or four new Holy Roman Empires. The influential review *Nueva Política* foresaw an Argentine-dominated Latin America as one of these empires. One of the most prominent Catholic intellectuals, Ignacio Anzoátegui, later Under-Secretary of Culture in the Revolutionary Government, wrote in *Nueva Política* of the "missionary and totalitarian vocation [of the Axis countries] which began a new world so that our blood shall win a continent and the American Continent will gain content." A just international order, wrote Hector Llambías, later Revolutionary Under-secretary of Education and also a leader among Catholic intellectuals, required "the protection of a single great power [i.e., one for each empire], hierarchic and unitive, with realistic rather than Utopian bases." The *Nueva Política* editors, Llambías among them, asked if there are any political-moral reasons against the absorption of small nations into such empires, and concluded that there are none, because nations do not enjoy freedom as a natural right or by international covenant but by "the will to power," or "sovereign will." "Without a political vocation no country is free, no country is a nation. . . . History says that no people has an acquired right to liberty. Only those peoples who have known how to formulate a policy, to forge unity, have attained it: it is not true that all have the right to enjoy it." The first step in the Argentina imperial policy was seen to be the education of the people of each of the Spanish American states in the idea of the solidarity of the Spanish world.

It is unnecessary to point out to the readers of THE COMMONWEAL that this conception of inter-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

national order goes considerably beyond the tradition of the Holy Roman Empire and is essentially modern and Hegelian. It expresses an exaggerated nationalism, of the type frequently condemned by Pope Pius XI, an over-valuation of the Nation-State in relation to other nations and also to the individual person.*

★

The reasons for this nationalist choice of outward rather than inward expansion are ideological and political; they are not economic. The nationalist doctrine is not a disguise for a program to protect the large landholders, who actually have been somewhat frightened by anti-capitalist aspects of the nationalist doctrine, including a recognition of the evils of the present extreme concentration of rural land ownership. But nationalist opposition to immigration will bolster up the present extreme concentration of rural ownership far more than uncertain gropings toward progressive land taxes may weaken it. Contrarywise, if the population were allowed to treble in the next thirty years, the Argentine economy could absorb the new workers, but only by dividing up the land, accelerating the process of industrialization, and producing largely for home consumption rather than for export.

Little or no immigration and slow natural growth of the population will mean continued dependence on foreign markets to absorb very large export surpluses, particularly of the principal farm commodities, cereals and beef. Unless world income expands so as to provide competitive markets for such surpluses at favorable prices, Argentina is likely to have to restrict its own industrial expansion so as to admit manufactured goods in payment for her own surpluses. The promise of post-war tariff protection which the present government has made to war-stimulated Argentine industry will be of very doubtful value in the event of world deflation and the revival of anarchic and bilateral trade tendencies. It will be severely tested when the first post-war Anglo-Argentine trade agreement is negotiated. Unable to export during the war, post-war Britain will have a desperate necessity to do so. The trade terms she can offer are unlikely to be even as advantageous to Argentina as those of the Roca-Runciman treaty of 1933 or the commercial treaty of 1936. They may hit Argentina's infant industries hard.

Thus, even though no direct alliance can be shown to exist, the fortunes of the large landholders are bound up with the nationalist movement because they are threatened by immigration and industrial growth. But can the internal development of Argentina be permanently halted by an unwise government? I doubt it. Even if a breakdown of the Dumbarton Oaks collective security machinery were to allow it, absorption of her small and poorer neighbors could not possibly take the place of domestic expansion. Argentina is not in Germany's position in 1939, surrounded by riches to loot. Even if she were, the Argentine people have no strong German stomach for such a diversion of their energies, and my guess is that the nationalist program of indoctrination and education will not really succeed in developing one, even in the country's youth.

Argentine industrialization is a sturdy adolescent, the growth of which in the last fifteen years has coincided with the emergence of an Argentine middle class. After the war the country will be able to import not only new workers but also new capital goods, without incurring foreign debt in payment for the latter, using instead the large dollar and sterling exchange balances built up during the war. Argentina will thus be able—if unfavorable trade treaties do not interfere—to modernize and expand her industries, to buy ships, commercial airplanes, construction equipment and machine tools, to increase her petroleum production and hydroelectric power facilities. Infant industries can be subsidized where long-term prospects of economical operation justify such state help.* Even with large-scale immigration, Argentina's dependence on foreign agricultural markets would continue for some years. But this dependence would diminish, and such immigration would also mean that the purchasing power of the countries sending out immigrants would be increased by the remittances sent back by these immigrants.

Even if scarcity rather than oversupply should continue indefinitely in world commodity markets, and Argentina had no difficulty in disposing of her surpluses, immigration would still be the only way of substantial further growth to greatness, power and influence in the family of nations—the only path to "La Grande Argentina." An Argentina of 50 million persons, with one of the world's highest per capita living standards, would truly be one of the world's great nations, and indubitably the leading Spanish one. It is unfortunate that the political movement with which most politically active, practicing Catholics in Argentina have been associated in the last fifteen years—nationalism—aims at obstructing rather than promoting this destiny. When the nationalist leadership is discredited, as it must be because its fundamental policy is so unsound, other leaders with a clearer perception of the nation's destiny

* See *Harper's*, January, 1945.

* As Felix Weil points out in his "Argentine Riddle" (John Day, 1944), lack of coal and iron deposits need not prevent Argentine industrialization in an age of plastics, other synthetic materials and non-ferrous light metals."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will take over, but, unless things change very much, these new leaders are not likely to be practicing Catholics.

This would be a great misfortune for Argentina. Catholic political leaders, not affected by the viruses which poison the minds and hearts of persons who perhaps honestly believe themselves to be Catholic but whose political beliefs are utterly incompatible with any Christian political ideal, could have a most salutary influence on the future political development of Argentina. These viruses include the refusal of universal suffrage, and what we loosely call "democracy," as a form of government, they include a mean contempt for the lower classes, the advocacy of totalitarian concentration and increase of power in the state, the denial of civil liberties, the exaltation of violence as a broad technique of government.

Of the very few political predictions that can safely be made about the world of the future this is one of the safest: that the functions and power of the state will continue to increase at some inevitable expense to the liberty of the individual. The Catholic conception of the human person, rightly understood, insists on liberty for that person, to whom it assigns incalculable supramaterial value. No Marxist or other materialist conception of the human person can be counted on to protect the individual against the modern state. That is why it is important for Argentina and for other countries to have leaders whose political thinking is soundly, essentially, logically integrated with their Catholicism.

Instead of trying to build a totalitarian state in Argentina, Argentine Catholics ought to be fighting to maintain and strengthen the independence of the trade unions and to organize the tenant and sharecropping farmers in land-owning cooperatives—in short, to develop both the economic independence and the political responsibility of the common people. Such an effort is being made by a small anti-statist and pro-democratic group under the leadership of Bishop de Andrea, the titular bishop of Temnos who in 1927 founded the Federation of Catholic Employees' Associations, an association of women office, trade and professional workers which now has 25,000 members out of an estimated total of 100,000 such workers in the country. The members of this association are organized in about twenty-five industrial unions which, under elected officers, bargain collectively with their employers. But the nationalist theory of government by an élite class and its associated corporative conception of the trade union as an instrument of authoritarian rule do not conduce to this kind of activity.

Bishop de Andrea himself is frequently accused by the nationalists of heterodoxy and heresy. Few Catholic lay leaders (apart from simply nominal Catholics) are pro-democratic; statist nationalism has had far the greater Catholic following. The result is that the influence and prestige of Left-wing, anti-clerical leaders with the masses of the people has increased under the Revolutionary Government. Especially that of the communists, who have vigorously defended the trade unions against the government and published the leading organ of resistance, *Unidad Nacional*. Non-Catholic leadership promises, at least, to promote the economic development of the country, its industrialization, and population growth through immigration. And so Catholic leaders in the main have been working counter to the probable development of the Argentine economy. They have aligned themselves with nationalists whom economic realities will in all probability eventually dislodge. What is infinitely more important: unless things change, Argentina will provide another tragic instance where Catholics have lent their weight to forces which are in fact destructive of characteristically Christian values.

America's Peace Potential

MICHAEL WILLIAMS

THE HEADING above this article is not original, having been adapted from a most remarkable article by Mr. Gill Robb Wilson, in his department in the New York *Herald Tribune,* "The Air World," which was entitled, "The American Potential for Peace on Earth." Mr. Wilson, the Aviation Editor of that strongly influential newspaper, recently returned from a flying trip to the European war fronts. Concerning what he saw, heard, felt and thought on his meteoric journey Mr. Wilson has written with great force, with communicable emotion. No American reader but must be thrilled with pride in the achievements of our aviators, and the technicians who have made such achievements possible. But, the pride which this lucid and stirring writer himself feels and which he, in common with so many other apostles of Aviation, seeks so ardently to spread among the rest of us, is the sort of pride—it seems to me—which if allowed entrance into our souls will obsess us as a nation, even perhaps utterly possess us, with the demons of vainglory and evil pride.

The spirit which we are so urgently invited to share with Mr. Wilson is most vividly, and (to my mind) alarmingly, flaunted in the latest of his articles, in which the star painted on all our American airplanes, now flying in their thousands in all the skies and over all the seas of this war-tortured world, is seemingly hailed as more luminous with hope and joy and peace and good will for man than was the star which

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

heralded the birth of Jesus Christ in Bethlehem. And this message of American national pride and spiritual arrogance was printed on Christmas Day itself! Because "neither in organized politics or religion does there appear human ingenuity sufficient unto our necessity." Mr. Wilson avers, he tells us that air power alone, provided it is supremely controlled by the United States, can possibly bring peace to man. Our nation, alone, is strong enough for such a task; Americans, as a people, are the one nation whose men and women have "naught but peace and good will in their hearts!"

The star which is painted on the ever-increasing swarm of planes now "flashing everywhere above the broad earth" where "goes American air power questing for the liberty of humanity" appears, in Mr. Wilson's perfervid vision, as "a new star in a new world." He does not, precisely, compare it to the star which once shone above Bethlehem, to the obvious disadvantage of that one; nevertheless, as "both organized politics and religion," so he thinks, have failed, it is clearly certain to this apostle of American Air Power, as it seems to be apparent to other apostles and propagandists of the American Century, and American Imperialism, and American Sinn Feinism, that only American aviation's white star will bring "a tangible symbol of undefeated idealism to isolated millions" of human beings who, so he fancies, "will find God in the throb of an engine, the controls of an airplane or the operation of a radar system." Provided, of course—let all the world clearly understand—that this "American Potential for Peace on Earth" is strictly controlled by America, in the higher interests of world security.

"But by security," Mr. Wilson tries to reassure the world, "I do not merely imply freedom from war for the United States while all the rest of the world goes to hell." . . . Oh, no! Mr. Wilson in aviation and many other spokesmen for our own native will to power in other great fields of activity, such as commerce, industry, finance, and a great part of our press, generously and undoubtedly most sincerely desire—in Mr. Wilson's own words, "a security which means world peace, because the United States is strong enough to determine the result of any issue which arises among nations." As long "as the level of human disposition remains as it is," so Mr. Wilson thinks, "discipline will be essential"; therefore he proposes "that such disciplinary power be in the hands of a people which has naught but peace on earth and good will toward men in its heart."

★

Apparently Mr. Wilson is doubtful that other nations such as "Russia and Great Britain, China and France," will listen to this 1944 style of Christmas message from the United States of America, at least "officially." I presume he must mean that the benighted governments, and churches, and other leaders of the organized political and religious forces in such countries, may not be ready to accept the new gospel of Peace on Earth through American air power; however, this seems to be an age when aroused peoples are ready and able to overthrow governments and churches which seem to have failed them, and so Mr. Wilson seems serenely confident that all over the world there are "millions of upturned faces which . . . look up expectantly to the white star from the west."

It would be "earth's best Christmas present," Mr. Wilson avers, "if by some magic power it were given us in the United States to realize how much of human anticipation centers upon our winged star." True, he points out that if this new power of aviation is to be interpreted as nothing more than a technical achievement, tremendously useful as "part of our national power to make war or foster trade," then, as Mr. Wilson perceives, "it had better never have been achieved." But he believes, and with passionate conviction has voiced his belief, that aviation is "the American Potential for Peace on Earth" because when Peace means life to the world, and War means death, at last there seems to have appeared a "nation on earth able and willing to sustain the brotherhood of man."

Ah, that is the operative phrase in all this truly remarkable article; "to sustain the brotherhood of man!" Yes . . . Yes, Yes indeed! that *is* the high opportunity of the American people, of its Government, its free institutions of religion and trade and industry and finance and labor and politics and publicity; of its art and its letters, above all, perhaps, of its schools and churches and homes. But in what spirit shall we the American people and our leaders in church and state and industry and in aviation attempt to realize our tremendous opportunity? In the spirit of pride? Of material pride and, worse yet, much worse, a hundredfold worse, in the awful force of spiritual pride? Or in the spirit of cooperation with other peoples and nations? In the spirit of brotherhood, indeed; not of mastership?

In addition to the extraordinary nature of the ideas advanced with such force by Mr. Gill Robb Wilson, he expresses a personal resolution for his own guidance with enviable, and what ought to be widely followed, frankness and determination, by avowing that it is his fully formed intent to drive "for post-war security with what puny strength one ordinary man has." The present writer, whose own strength indeed is puny, and who like Mr. Wilson realizes in part at least the necessity for making the great act of will which must be made by all of us, extraordinary and or-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dinary people alike, in this hour of supreme national and international crisis, congratulates this brother writer with all his heart on his courage, and on his realization of his responsibility as a writer, and thinks that his public avowal of his deepest convictions is an admirable thing in itself, however detestable, and wrong, and potentially evil in their possible results his ideas as to our national position, either in aviation or in any other field of human activity, most certainly seem to me.

★

Of late, certain experiences—not, like those of Mr. Wilson, on the battle fronts—but in the solitude and silence of a sick-room into which the war and revolution sweeping the world came only (and infrequently) by radio or a glance at the headlines in the press—experiences in thought rather than in action, forced this writer to remember something familiar to him (but tucked away at the back of his mind, generally speaking) all his life—the saying that "Man shall be judged by every word he utters," or something of the kind. Not only writers but all of us now must remember that warning; we must speak out as never before, but as never before with such acute awarenes of responsibility. We Americans must speak out, in the written word, or the more living word of mouth, and speak the inner words of our hearts and minds and souls. Do we or do we not believe in the message illuminated by the star of Bethlehem long ages before the star of aviation swept in terrible swarms amid bleak thunder clouds and red and white flashes of bomb explosions down from all the skies of all the earth? Do we or do we not in our hearts believe that we Americans are in reality, not in mere rhetoric, brothers of all other men? And that we are their keepers? But not their keepers in a prison-house of force controlled, with the kindest and purest benevolence, of course, but still controlled, by ourselves alone? Shall we follow our President, and the Pope of the Catholic Church, and the great Rabbis of the Synagogue, and the great leaders of Protestant Christianity, and the unchurched yet God-loving and man-loving individuals who abound today in aviation, trade, labor, even in politics—yes, perhaps above all in politics, in spite of all the perversions of political power that are so lamentably conspicuous—shall we, O Americans all, I say, shall we follow such leaders, and follow our own human hearts, and follow the star of Bethlehem, as individuals and as a nation, firmly forward into cooperation with other individuals, and groups, and nations, in a true spirit not of assumed superiority but of realized brotherhood?

A Swedish journalist, Mr. Johan Hansson, recently expressed his personal and innermost convictions concerning the plight of humanity, and the possible path out of that plight, in an article in the *Hibbert Journal*. Sixty-five years ago, he tells us, a social guide of his own youth, after an elaborate search after knowledge of "the law of human progress" came "to the result that this law consisted in '*co-operation on the basis of equality.*' . . . By this he meant *free* co-operation on the basis of right, of moral right." Mr. Hansson goes on to relate that he himself became acquainted with the researches made and the conclusion reached by this social teacher some twenty-five years ago, and that despite all he has since heard, seen, and experienced in the course of contact with most of the nations of the world he has not found a more tenable standard for the building up of the social community in small matters or in large. "If one attempted to explain what is meant by the words heard at Bethlehem," Mr. Hansson winds up by averring, "'good will toward men,' one could perhaps resort to the above formula: co-operation on the basis of equality."

★

Our nation is now launching not only a vast fleet of airplanes, and fleets of ships—mostly for purposes of war, but also for missions of mercy, works of charity and comradeship and fraternal love—our nation also is conducting a vast campaign of publicity throughout the world concerning what America means—what this nation really, in its heart and in its mind and in its soul, believes, and what the mingling of diverse races and classes, all sorts and conditions of mankind, in the alembic of our national life portends for the rest of the world. But each and every American —writer, or teacher, or those who are taught, and who so humbly read what others write—every man or woman alive today in this dear land of ours (where so many homes have indeed the sign of the star in their windows, so many of them stars of gold)—yes, all of us, we whose words must be weighed in final judgment, now or later—we must now speak out and say what is in our hearts in answer to the question posed by the writer whose article has been the occasion for mine: "What star shall you follow, O American man, or American woman? The star of Bethlehem? the star of Brotherhood? the star of cooperation in liberty with others? or the fell star of physical force and awful national and personal pride? The Star of Lucifer? or the Star of Jesus Christ?"

Communications

BETWEEN HEAVEN AND EARTH

The following telegram from Franz Werfel to Theodore Maynard and Mr. Maynard's reply relate to a review which appeared in THE COMMONWEAL (*December* 15, 1944) *and therefore should be of interest to our readers.*—THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Santa Barbara, Calif.

DEAR Mr. Maynard: I thank you cordially for your serious review of my book, but nowhere did I say that Israel is above others. I said it is a *part,* and I accentuated this relationship, refusing every implication of metaphysical superiority. I tried to clarify the mystical fact that God has not selected mankind in the abstract, but a certain cautiously prepared bio-historical group for His appearance, and that this fact cannot be overlooked simply because it is unpleasant. Neither do I accept a racial theory allowing inequality of missionary teaching as between Jews and primitive tribesmen* nor do I deny any of the teachings of the Church on this whole question. If you will be willing to read my paragraph a second time, you will acknowledge that I boldly face one of the most basic and most neglected problems of Christology, and that one cannot destroy the logical facts of faith by means of a psychological suspicion of pride. The voice of fact is powerful, not, perhaps, my insufficient and dubious interpretation.

FRANZ WERFEL.

Westminster, Md.

DEAR Mr. Werfel: Your telegram has been sent on to me from THE COMMONWEAL, and I answer directly in the same columns in which my review of your "Between Heaven and Earth" appeared.

First let me say—in case only this exchange be seen by some readers—that I have great respect for you, and for the Jews something more than respect. Perhaps I can best describe this as veneration, for as a Christian I am well aware that the Jews are the people chosen by God for a special mission, and as a Christian I cannot withhold that veneration merely because I believe that Israel has—at least in part—failed in its mission. As a Christian, I must also believe that the Church is now the Chosen People, the true Israel, however much individual Christians also have, in their turn, failed. Yet I recognize that the Jews remain Israel in other than a racial sense, and are still God's witnesses, even when, as you yourself point out, they are forgetful of God. For mere race would never have been sufficient, in itself, to account for their uniqueness, or to have preserved it. I therefore must believe that the Jews have yet a wonderful function to fulfil in the economy of God; and though we cannot foresee precisely what this will be, it seems to me that your intuitions and mine point in the same direction.

Let me add that it was not my intention to accuse you of laying too much stress on racial theories—for I clearly perceived your spirituality rising above this. But I do fear that there are people who will miss your spiritual meaning and fasten only upon what you say concerning the Jews as a race. Should that happen, I know that you no less than myself, will think it unfortunate.

One other question you raise is too large to permit of an adequate answer here. I therefore merely quote again a sentence from your book: "[The] Jew who goes to the baptismal font deserts Christ Himself, since he arbitrarily interrupts his historical suffering—the penance for rejecting the Messias," and make the comment that even after conversion the Jew is destined to this penance, until Israel as a body has accepted the Cross of Christ. Yet in saying this I admire the loyalty of those many Jews who, like yourself, prefer to carry their own cross in union with their fellows; and I try to understand their psychological motives. At the same time you will, I feel sure, pardon me if I regard this as an enormous error, though a generous one.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

* In this connection Mr. Maynard wrote as follows: "That is psychologically very interesting, but logically very fallacious. The humility of the Jew, as depicted by Franz Werfel, is really a fantastic pride. He is scornful of the idea that the Jew must be evangelized like the Pigmy and the Papuan, which of course is only to assert a racial theory which largely accounts for that other racial theory which has been used as an attempt to exterminate the Jew. That Israel is the chosen people is a scientifically demonstrable fact; but whatever its importance, still more important is the fact that Israel is part of the human race, and that though the Gospel was preached first to the Jew and then to the Gentile, it is of universal applicability. That a different apologetic approach is needed for the Jew than that needed for the Pigmy and the Papuan is obvious, if only for the reason that the Jew has in his own traditions the strongest of evidences for the Gospel. Mr. Werfel's argument, however, would seem to be that it is the obligation of the Jew to accept Christ as the God-Man—and to remain outside the Church as a victim and a witness. It is an argument that seems to exalt Jewry above humanity; it is therefore an argument as unfortunate as it is false. What should be added is that most of this section—and most of the book—was written some years ago; in a kind of post-script Mr. Werfel now writes, 'I have touched upon a mystery which I do not feel strong enough nor wise enough to interpret validly.' "—THE EDITORS.

Down to the Sea

HARRY LORIN BINSSE

PETER F. ANSON'S name is not very well known in America, although it should be. He is a Catholic, a writer of considerable charm and one of the best draughtsmen living in Britain today. He has written and illustrated more than a dozen books, some of which are authoritative in the field he has chosen for his own—the sea and seafarers, particularly fishermen. And now he has published a volume of reminiscences which deserves to find an American publisher*.

"Harbour Head" is not merely the title Mr. Anson has chosen for his partial autobiography; it is likewise the name he has given the cottage in which he lives, smack on top of the harbor in a small port on the northeast coast of Scotland. It is principally a fishing port, although occasionally cargo vessels put in for one purpose or another, and the author prides himself visibly and openly that he is now "the owner of a registered fishing vessel, even if she is only what is known as a 'third class' one" as well as having "the coveted status of a professional fisherman" with a "'Fishing Permit' just the same as that held by the skipper of a big steam-trawler." At the age of 55 he has achieved what his whole life pointed at—recognition as an artist and writer and seafarer.

* Harbour Head. London. Gifford. 7/6.

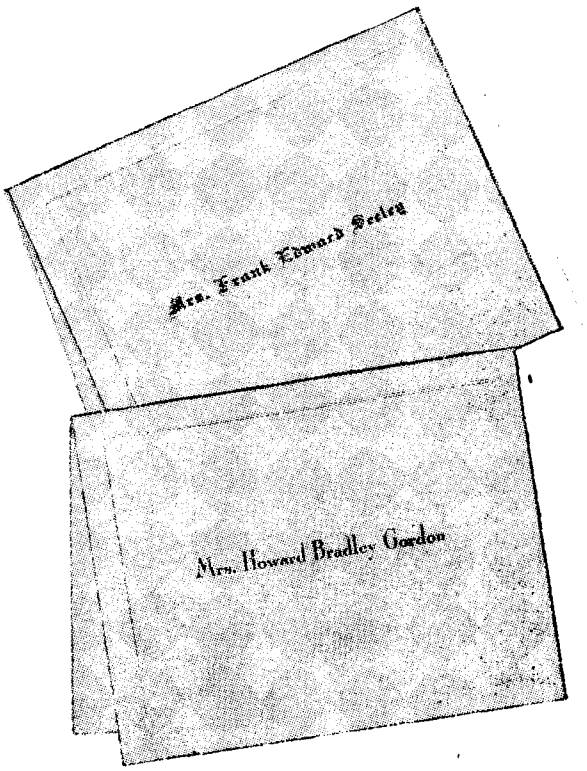
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From another point of view Mr. Anson's greatest achievement lies in none of these things, but rather in having been the man who more than anyone else actually got an international Catholic Seamen's organization going—the *Apostolatus Maris,* which was making such remarkable progress in the decade before the outbreak of the war and which must certainly not be allowed to be one of the war's casualties. Yet Mr. Anson's active connection with this enterprize ceased in the summer of 1924, after four years as its "Organizing Secretary." His contribution seems to have been to set a spark to the existing tinder, thereafter letting the control and harnessing of the fire remain in the hands of Arthur Gannon, who has been international Organizing Secretary ever since. "I don't mean," Anson remarks, "that I had lost my interest in the objects of the *Apostolate,* but that I was and still am far too much in love with the Sea, Ships and Sailors to have time to bother with Committees and Councils." One wonders whether the initial work could have been done by anyone not in love with the sea, and with ships, and especially with sailors. Another man's motives might be more purely religious, yet without the initial injection of love, results might have been leaner and much less healthy.

Peter Anson, despite his elaborate disclaimers, comes of a naval family. It is perhaps not quite as heavily naval as are some English families, yet by normal standards it can be called nothing else. His father was an admiral, and naval relatives keep popping up in his pages. Whenever he runs into the Royal Navy, he gets entertained on board; one suspects that his disclaimers arise more from his preference for ratings to officers rather than from anything else. For his book makes it abundantly clear that however little he may care for elaborate organization and big public functions, he possesses a native genius for making friends with the seamen he loves. He was born "in a house by the Sea—32, South Parade, Southsea." When he was six weeks old he was taken to Malta, where he contracted that island's fever, and hence within a year was back in England, living with grandparents at Portsmouth. "I have never been able to live away from the sea and never really been happy unless I was within sound and smell of it!" That is the recurring refrain of his life.

Grown to university age, he twice failed to pass the entrance examinations, and because of an obvious talent for drawing, it was decided that he should become an architect, a decision reached by many another family in Victorian days, on the ground that this was the only way you could make your living in the arts; here probably was one reason for the falseness of most Victorian architecture, which was overburdened with people who could draw and might have made good painters or pen-and-ink men, but who lacked what architecture first of all requires—a sense of plan and a feeling for mass. Then at the age of 18 Anson heard Dom Aelred Carlyle, Anglican founder and first Abbot of the Benedictine community of Caldey, preach at All Saints', Margaret Street, and in other London churches. He began to be drawn to the monastic life, and was professed as an Anglican Benedictine in

B. ALTMAN & CO.



FOR "THANK YOU'S"

AND "LITTLE" NOTES

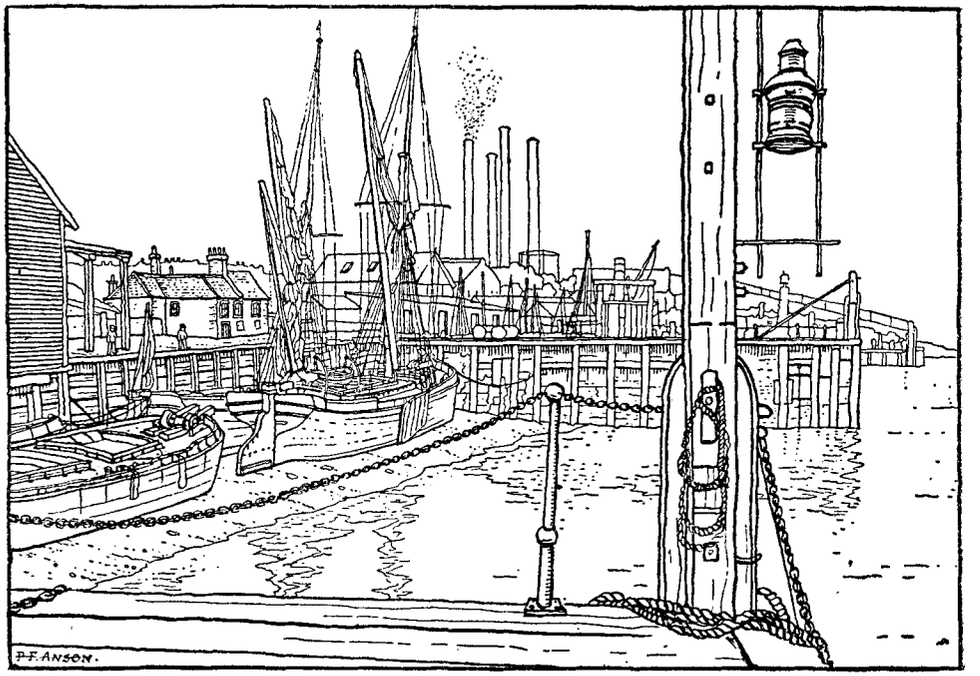
Crane's Informals

you can order them now in a choice of two styles of raised printing. 100 "Parchmont" informals, 3 7/8 x 3 1/16, and envelopes, 4.95. Please allow 3 weeks for delivery.

Altman stationery, main floor

B. Altman & Co., Fifth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
Also at our East Orange and White Plains Shops

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



THE SHORE, NORTHFLEET
From "Harbour Head"

December, 1911. The Caldey community is situated on a "low, long island in the Bristol Channel, surrounded by the blue waters of the Severn Sea, and fragrant with the scent of flowers and the memory of holy lives." Two years later this community "boarded the barque of Peter," a nautical turn of phrase altogether appropriate in this instance, however objectionably shop-worn it might seem in another. Anson thus became a brother in a Catholic Benedictine house, but his health soon made it necessary for him to spend long periods away from the Bristol Channel island. These periods were spent in various British seaports, where he began to come in contact with the religious aspect of seamen's lives. In July, 1917, he met Miss Mary Scott-Murray who for twenty-six years had valiantly been carrying on "The Work for Catholic Bluejackets," an apostolate to men in the Royal Navy which largely consisted in supplying literature to its ships and shore establishments. Miss Scott-Murray was one of those fragile, semi-invalid persons whom you would think incapable of practicality, but who so often prove heroic in achievement. Her activity was closely linked to the Apostleship of Prayer, and hence to the Society of Jesus. Anson took over its direction, and began his active work for Catholic seamen. For seven years, continuing as a Benedictine brother, he voyaged over England, Scotland, Ireland and the Continent, studying the situation at first, then writing about the great need, framing the constitution of the Apostolate of the Sea, obtaining the Pope's blessing for the work, enlisting support from those already interested and arousing interest in those who might help.

All this journeying about produced for Anson friendships among clergy and laity in every major European port, as well as in many on this side of the Atlantic. He voyaged with Scotch fishermen, with men of the merchant marine and the coastal services in many countries, particularly in Italy and France. He acquired an altogether exceptional knowledge of the problems, both spiritual and material, inherent in the seafaring way of life. And all this he continued to do after he had resigned from his post in the *Apostolatus Maris* and had ceased to be a member of the Caldey community.

Particularly interesting to many American readers will be the pages he devotes to describing the work carried on in Germany by Father H. A. Reinhold, who in a few short years built up one of the finest seamen's organizations in the world. Anson quotes Father Reinhold as saying to him in Bremerhaven in 1929: "Look! Peter! those seamen are not 'poor boys' as some folk would make out; they're Christian *men,* with dignity and manly pride. They're not in the least 'worse' than most Catholics ashore. Most of them are better. They're not 'naughty boys' too weak to resist temptation. If any Seamen's Mission has this idea of sailors, well! It had better close down. Sailors don't want preventive care. Only weaklings and parasites will put up with the petting and nursing that is so common in many Sailors' Club and Institutes. Why *must* people think that sailors are *'objects of charity?'* It's a positive insult. No! They must become active lovers of Christ, and through this, apostles and martyrs." Those lines deserve to be remembered in many other connections.

Also interesting is Anson's account of the meticulous and profoundly logical way in which the between-war generation of French priests and laymen tackled the problems of sailors. Here was no surface treatment, but a deep and realistic sociological approach, on the ground that the first thing to do is to know what you are tackling before you tackle it. This same spirit applied in so many fields by French Christian democrats undoubtedly accounts in large part for the new rôle Catholics are playing in France today. These men already knew what was needed, what they wanted. They had prepared themselves through long years for the leadership they now exercise.

But more and more Anson devoted himself to drawing the things he loved, and to writing books about them. His "Fishing Boats and Fisher Folk on the East Coast of Scotland" and his "Mariners of Brittany" are minor classics in their field, though they achieved no great popular success. And in his seaport cottage in northern Scotland he is himself carrying on a living apostolate of the sea, independent, perhaps, of international conferences, but none the less real.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Stage & Screen

Sing Out, Sweet Land!

TWO MUSICALS in the week and it strikes me their difference is perhaps even more notable than their separate lumber and men. This, the Theater Guild's second go of the year (bought, I believe, entire from the Catholic University Drama Department) is called, "A Salute To American Folk And Popular Music." An eclectic affair, it snatches airs and fashions from periods dating from Puritan New England to that of the present War, with nothing much missing in between. The business is bound together by having one character—a sort of *Johnny Appleseed,* called Barnaby Goodchild—travel the scenes: Mister America from Way Back. And as it is most thoroughly done, I must say I found it rather more exhausting than entertaining; although one advantage of this long horizontal attack must be that it embraces so much of everything, almost anyone is apt to be pleased once or twice during the evening. Quite honestly, I was intermittently pleased, but I find my most serious carp to be concerned with the original mixture of materials as dished by Walter Kerr, the author. There does not, for example, seem to me to be much in common between American folk and popular music; in fact, I think they are various stock. Folk music is almost always a local, usually rural, arrangement: stuff of the roads, or sprung from innumerable activities and trades. Popular music, on the other hand, is exactly what it says: it is allover sung, can originate anywhere—in halls, shows, one man's mind, anywhere where people play. Re-heard, it is nostalgic rather than blood and bone and history, and it is always, always, I think, a job (professional) and not slowly a growth or development: myth-stuff.

Here, the combo of these two different streams, as staged by Leon Leonidoff, comes off as one part traditional straight biz (carried by Burl Ives who is as innocently, wisely wonderful as ever), and one part satire (Bibi Osterwald, James Westerfield, in wondrously costumed versions of "Frankie and Johnny," "The Charleston," early jazz, etc.): a jerky progress. Done into some sort of neat *review,* I think it might be possible, even absorbing, diversion; but the thing is necessarily big, has too much choice, and I thought a good bit of the Folk was obscure, most of the Popular merely chopped in. This together with the fact that while no one would willing call Alfred Drake anything but intrepid in the one *part,* he has unfortunately only a reputation with which to carry such a tremendous job—not personality or talent. Albert Johnson's backgrounds are Grant Wood plain, if you like that kind of thing, and he has also provided the most busy, pickety, stencilled traveler-curtain that ever a singer had to stand before and give. Lucinda Ballard's costumes are fine. (*At the International.*)

THE
glorious
story
of an
unconquerable
man . . .
of an
unparalleled
adventure!

20th CENTURY-FOX
presents

A. J. Cronin's

THE KEYS
OF THE
KINGDOM

with

GREGORY PECK
THOMAS MITCHELL
VINCENT PRICE
ROSA STRADNER
RODDY McDOWALL
EDMUND GWENN
SIR CEDRIC HARDWICKE
PEGGY ANN GARNER

Directed by
JOHN M. STAHL

Produced by
JOSEPH L. MANKIEWICZ

Now playing!

RIVOLI
THEATRE
Broadway and 49th St.
Continuous Performances

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

On The Town

WHILE the program-list of this Oliver Smith-Paul Feigay production seems almost as long and divided as that of the above "Salute," for a good many good reasons the show emerges as fast, spruce, and proportioned. *And* small enough to enjoy completely. To begin with, the doings are stepped and sung to a book; this is no gigantic Arrangement or Selection, and not only Girls. Based on the idea behind Jerome Robbins's "Fancy Free" Ballet, the Betty Comden-Adolph Green book follows three sailors around New York on a twenty-four hour pass, mainly in pursuit of a "Miss Turnstile," a gal glimpsed on a subway billboard. The chase leads everywhere from the dimmit corridors of Carnegie Hall to Coney Island, a good bit of it taking place in a taxicab desperately manned by Nancy Walker who also, as you will remember, sings. If, every so often, the plot slows into slices of dance and ballet, there is always enough of it to keep one wondering at the curtains, and it provides a sure skeleton for Leonard Bernstein to build pleasant background music and tunes with no Hollywood *numbers* and only one reprise. George Abbott's direction keeps everything moving; Oliver Smith's settings provide, certainly, the best possible ground-plan; Robbins's choreography is whirling and well executed; the Comden-Green lyrics are cute; and not least, Sono Osato proves herself an actress as well as a ballerina and can even sing a little. There is, on all sides, an excess of talent although no Stars. For effects, I loved the flicker-light progress of small characters before the curtain, a device first used, I believe, in Le Gallienne's "Alice In Wonderland" and never experimented since; and my only criticism is that, beyond this clever fangle, there are no innovations technically or musically. But this is a legitimate quibble only if one discounts the largest innovation of all: the sure scheming of the whole with every person listed on the sheet openly (and traceably) responsible for his or her part. Without question, this is a hit; and there is nothing lucky about it. (*At the Adelphi.*)

KAPPO PHELAN.

Harvest

SO IT has come to that time of the year again when the harassed reviewer must divide the wheat from the chaff. And the discouraging thing about it all is that there is so much chaff for so little wheat. Perhaps reviewers in selecting their lists of best ten for 1944 (which was certainly a thin cinema year) should call them "the better ten," for few of the films qualify under the heading "best."

Because readers of a column like this have a right to know their reviewer's preferences in the past so they can judge his future reviews, I submit a list of films that I liked better than the chaff in 1944. I haven't limited myself to ten or arranged them in order of preference.

"Going My Way"—because its heart-warming story was delightfully enacted by Bing Crosby and Barry Fitzgerald; and because it was justifiably one of the most popular films of the year and made thousands of moviegoers realize that priests are human too.

"Wilson"—because, although it was not the most accurate biographical film ever made, it presented the ideals of one of our greatest Americans in cinematic terms at a time when his message was needed by the whole world.

"The Song of Bernadette"—because it was a moving and vivid retelling of the story of a simple girl of great faith and because its fine production and outstanding cast, lead by Jennifer Jones and Anne Revere under the direction of Henry King, won the applause of all types of audience.

"None But the Lonely Heart"—because Clifford Odets's script and direction approached cinema as an art form and told effectively, in spite of weaknesses in conclusion, the story of a man's attempt to rise above despair. And because of its excellent production and acting, especially by Ethel Barrymore and Cary Grant.

"Thunder Rock"—because this beautifully photographed English version of an American play also treated cinema as art and managed, except at times when it went astray on certain points, to present another strong argument against isolationism.

"Hail the Conquering Hero"—because it was the year's best satire and courageously laughed at political campaigning just as the moment when politics deserved a poke in the ribs.

"Lifeboat"—because Director Alfred Hitchcock proved that it was possible to make an exciting full-length picture in a single set. And because its melodramatic plot full of symbolism (unfortunately rather misunderstood) was expertly acted by a good cast lead by Tallulah Bankhead.

"The Keys of the Kingdom"—because in discarding most of the flaws of Cronin's novel, this film told an appealing story of a missionary of sincere humility and unswerving faith. And because this rôle was sympathetically portrayed by Gregory Peck, the year's outstanding newcomer.

"Meet Me in St. Louis" and *"Two Girls and a Sailor"*—because they were the year's two best musical films; the former for its music, delightful characterizations and good spirit; the second for its highly entertaining specialty numbers, especially those in which Gracie Allen and Jimmy Durante shined brightly.

"Double Indemnity," "The Woman in the Window" and *"Laura"*—because they were better than most crime-and-detection films and succeeded, at least in 1944, in putting that type of picture in the A classification.

6th YEAR—Marching On!
LIFE WITH FATHER
America's Most Beloved Comedy
EMPIRE THEATRE, B'way 40 ST.
Evgs 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40

THE THEATRE GUILD presents
ETHEL BARRYMORE in
EMBEZZLED HEAVEN
A New Play by L. BUSH-FEKETE & MARY HELEN FAY
Based on a novel by FRANZ WERFEL
with ALBERT BASSERMAN
NATIONAL THEATRE, 41st West of Broadway
Evgs. 8:30. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:30

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Destination Tokyo," "Thirty Second Over Tokyo" and *"Winged Victory"*—because they were the best of the Hollywood war films and merit praise, in spite of sentimentalities in their stories and acting, for making the public more aware of what our fighting men are undergoing.

"The Memphis Belle" and *"Attack!—The Battle for New Britain"*—because they are superb documentary films and really deserve top place on any list of foremost movies. They told the true stories of our fighting forces in action and are likely to stand with the best examples of battle pictures to come out of this war. They should be shown and seen again and again. And they should be preserved as monuments to the heroes of World War II.

PHILLIP T. HARTUNG.

The Inner Forum

An Invitation to Disquiet

DRIVING slowly on a wet pavement, the scene that caught my eye was a familiar one—familiar in the "blighted" areas of any large city. It was the dingy store-front of a Gospel Mission. Against a background of yellow light, the congregation, twelve or fifteen of them, were leaving. Poverty and failure were written in the faces and the gaits of all.

The picture was quickly gone, but it left a train of thought behind it. There, certainly, was a handful of God's poor, yet I never saw a group quite like that in *my* church. I do not think I could find a group quite like that in any Catholic church, not even in the parish church which serves this particular district. Yet the Catholic church is the church of the poor. Christ was unmistakable about that. The Popes have been unmistakable about that. And neither Christ nor the Popes excepted the very poor, what we might call the dregs of society. "Casting pearls before swine" referred to pride, not to poverty or ignorance.

Can it be that the Church in America has grown too "middle-class," using the term in its offensive connotation; too prosperously complacent? It is not only the Joe Stumblebums we have to worry about. There are the spiritually impoverished too. Any pastor who has made a conscientious census of his parish is aware of the appalling leakage in the Church. When I say appalling, I am not using adjectives in any loose Hollywoodian sense. In a thorough house-to-house parochial visitation, it is a cause for jubilation when four consecutive families present no pastoral problem; no lax or fallen-away Catholics, no uninstructed or unbaptized children. In almost any city parish, the absent brethren (baptized Catholics) would amount to 50 per cent of those present at Mass on Sunday.

One of the principal weaknesses of the Church in America, a cause of leakage and sterility alike, is the overlarge parish. Nowadays it is a small city-parish that counts less than 1,000 families. Parishes of 2,000, 3,000 families and more, are not rare exceptions. As a consequence, within the parish there can be no intimate sense of fellowship, no "family spirit" such as should exist in the Mystical Body of Christ. With Masses every hour

Comments on the Lenten Liturgy
—Day by Day

LENT

A Liturgical Commentary on the Lessons and Gospels

By REV. CONRAD PEPLER, O.P.

$4.00

Thoughts are expressed and impressed by words and other symbols. The same is true of feelings. Therefore the Church makes use of both these means to impart her teaching and to draw men's souls to God. This twofold symbolism is particularly rich in the season of Lent.

The present volume comments on the Lenten Liturgy day by day as it is expressed in the Lessons and Gospels of the Mass. The abundance of historical information in connection with the liturgical development will be enlightening even to those who have devoted much time to the study of the liturgy.

Priests who are engaged in the pastoral ministry will find here a wealth of informational material to enhance the fruit of their Lenten sermons and instructions. Apart from this immediate usefulness, everyone interested in the content of the Church's teaching will see here how the Church imparts her doctrine through the liturgy.

The Dominican author, Father Pepler, gives the reader the benefit of his years of scholarly study. No one will read this book without profit.

B. Herder Book Co.

15 and 17 SOUTH BROADWAY

ST. LOUIS 2, MO.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CATHOLIC WORKER

(Member of Catholic Press Association)

A monthly paper dedicated to the cause of labor, the poor, the oppressed.

Written in the language of the man on the street, THE CATHOLIC WORKER is openly and unashamedly the champion of the have-nots.

Articles on strikes, civil liberties, war, national policy, labor unions, the land, the Works of Mercy.

House of Hospitality in New York and 40 affiliated groups and houses in various American cities.

Subscription, 25c per year. Foreign, 80c per year. Bundle orders, 10 or more copies, 1c per copy plus postage.

THE CATHOLIC WORKER, 115 Mott St., N. Y. C.

Please send me THE CATHOLIC WORKER for .... years. I am enclosing $..... My subscription starts with the ..... issue.

Name .....

Address .....

Post Office .....State.....

Add to Your War Savings!

War Bonds and Stamps hasten Victory, discourage inflation and provide for post-war needs.

The RED CROSS needs additional blood donors.

Give a pint of blood to save a life!

SAINT MARY'S COLLEGE
NOTRE DAME
HOLY CROSS, INDIANA
SCHOOL OF SACRED THEOLOGY
for Sisters and Lay-women
Prerequisites: A degree of Bachelor of Arts
A reading knowledge of Latin

IMMACULATA JUNIOR COLLEGE
Washington, D. C.

An accredited Catholic Institution for Women. Sisters of Providence of St. Mary-of-the-Woods. Resident and Day Students. 2 year transfer course in Liberal Arts. Terminal courses in Home Crafts, Secretarial Science, General, Fine Arts.

SEMINARY—Four Year College Preparatory
Dunblane Hall—Grades 1 to 8. Address: The Secretary.

on Sunday morning, people are hurried into church and out of church, most of them strangers to each other and to their priests. In a parish of three or four thousand souls, what chance has a pastor to know his people? He will know well the faithful few who take part in parish activities—ushers, society members, workers. But when he turns to the congregation on Sunday morning, it is to a sea of strange faces, and not to a family group that he talks.

Father Leo Sweeney of DePaul University recently published a series of articles in the *Homiletic Review*, a clerical journal. Writing from a sociologist's viewpoint, he analyzed the statistics of a well-organized urban parish. His conclusion was that the sense of corporateness has been lost. The Church in the American city has become an "I" society, rather than the "We" society that it should be. The bond of union that exists between the members of the average city parish is scarcely more substantial than the unity that binds the passengers of a crowded bus or street-car. The support and encouragement that each individual should derive from membership in the group is absent. Under stress of economic or social pressure, it becomes easy for a member to drift away from the group to which he so loosely is aggregated. We must return to the concept of a pastor who knows his sheep, and sheep who know each other. The big parish must give away to many small parishes.

In times past, increased population has meant enlarged churches, expanded parochial schools, additional Masses. The consequent heavy investment in parish plants poses a difficulty to subdivision. But a difficulty is not an impossibility. As least, as new parishes are established, the mistakes of the past can be avoided. In Detroit, Archbishop Mooney's plan of establishing mission chapels in newly-developed sections—chapels which become independent parishes when self-supporting—is a forward step.

Let our cathedral churches aspire to be soaring prayers to the glory of our God. But let our neighborhood churches be truly neighborly, a focus of religious, educational and social life, where the members know each other and are known to their pastor. Then the weak Catholic, daily dwelling in a climate of materialism and unbelief, will find himself bulwarked by the group of which he is an integral part. It is pointless to ascribe the leakage in the church to mixed-marriages, birth-control and money-chasing, when these things themselves flow from a more fundamental defect—on plight of the Catholic trying to swim alone against a rising tide.

LEO J. TRESE.

CONTRIBUTORS

Alfredo MENDIZABAL was dismissed from his professorship at the University of Oviedo both by the Loyalists and the adherents of Franco. He is the author of "The Martyrdom of Spain" and at present teaches at the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes.

George DOHERTY is at present employed by an American banking house; he was for many months attached to the FEA and obtained firsthand knowledge of Argentina through his connections in Buenos Aires.

Michael WILLIAMS sends in his comments on a recent newspaper article from Westport, Conn.

Rev. Leo J. TRESE is pastor of St. Mary Magdalen Church, Melvindale, Mich. Further reflections by him will appear in forthcoming "Inner Forums."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED